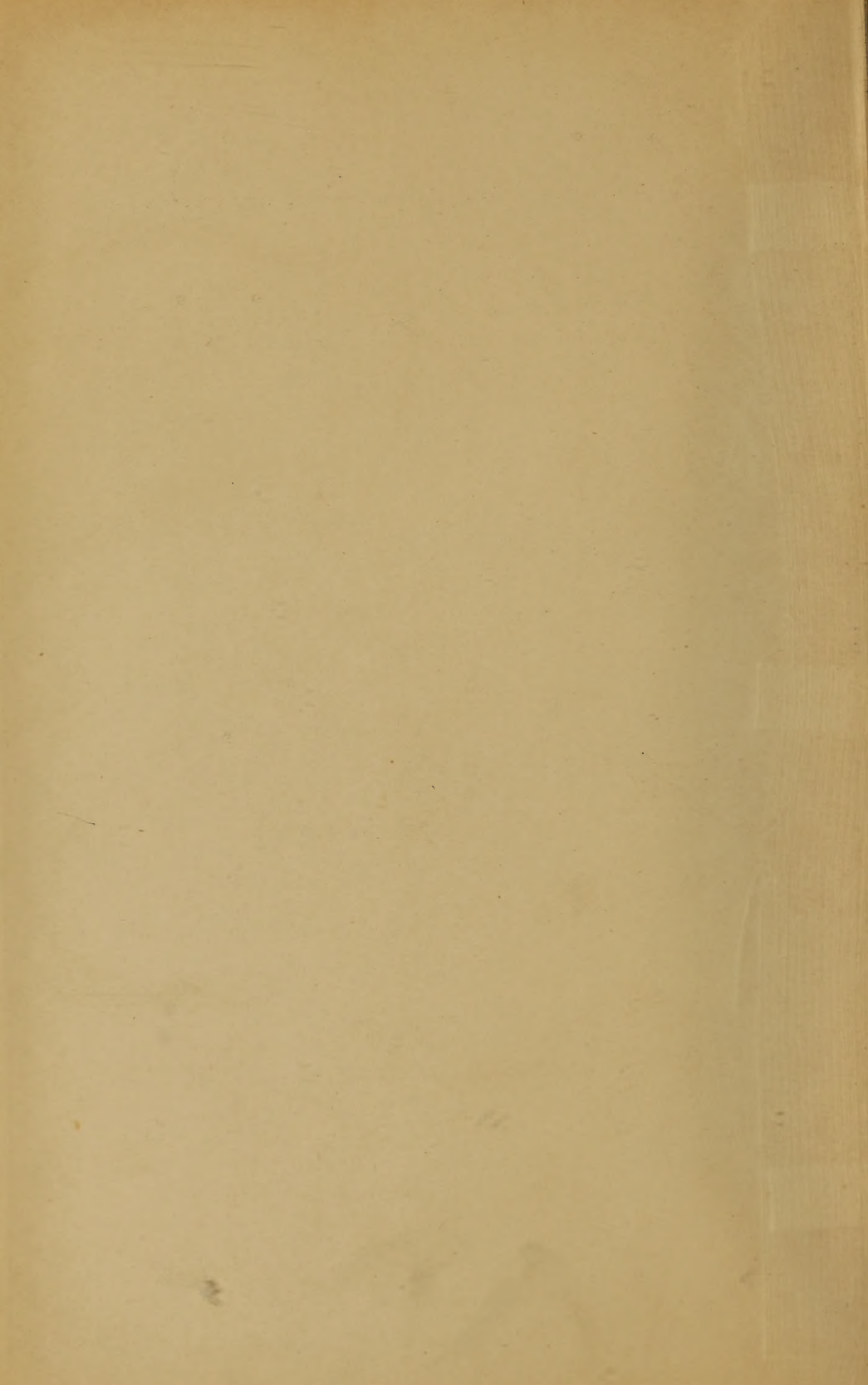


LE LIVRE DU CHASTEL
DE LABOUR
PAR JEAN BRUYANT

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1909

Le Livre du Chastel de Labour



Quant tu verras venir orgueil
 Regardant en tuuerie de lueil
 Anciennes lui derision
 Desdains despit presumption
 Suppedite fierte loance
 Despresiez on l'excusance
 Et tous les autres compaignons
 Qui tueres ont pures que gaignons
 Vre toy harnacher desploiee
 Si prens tantost de ton aye

mille que vous
 enle que vous

Le Livre du Chastel de Labour,
par Jean Bruyant. A description
of an Illuminated Manuscript of
the fifteenth century, belonging to
George C. Thomas, Philadelphia,
with a short account and synopsis
of the Poem *ø* *ø* *ø* *ø* *ø*

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1909



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CONTENTS

THE MANUSCRIPT

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

THE 47 CHAPTER-HEADINGS ; AND DESCRIPTION
OF THE 46 MINIATURES

THE POEM

ITS TITLE

ITS AUTHOR AND ORIGIN

ANALYSIS

PIERRE GRINGORE'S *CHATEAU DE*
LABOUR

APPENDIX

List of the Allegorical figures and Personifications in the Poem, with English equivalents.

I. The Manuscript

THIS very beautiful manuscript, which is perfect except for the loss of a leaf at the end containing the last sixteen lines of the poem, must have been written and decorated in the first quarter, or at least the first half, of the fifteenth century, by French writers and artists.* In several of the decorations appears a shield bearing the arms of Boutillier of Normandy†—Ermine, fleur-de-lis gules—so that the manuscript would seem to have been specially produced for some member of that family. Certain other features which are also repeatedly introduced into the decorative work round the miniatures, with apparent heraldic significance, are not, however, so readily interpreted. They consist first, of a portion of a curtain wall, crenellated, and returned on each side, with a lofty pierced gate or portcullis, to which chains are attached, in the middle.‡ Secondly, of a long, upright box with sliding lid—exactly like a school-child's pencil-box—to which scrolls are attached. Sometimes this box is repre-

* The compiler of this notice is indebted for this opinion and the identification of the coat of arms to Dr. G. F. Warner, of the British Museum. It may be remarked that opinions of less authority have put it at a later date, towards the end of the 15th century; and the considerable modernizations of the original language rather support this view.

† Not, however, of Jean Boutillier, author of *Le Somme rurale*, whose date would fit, but whose arms as given on his seal are quite different.

‡ Possibly a siege tower may be intended.

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sented alone, sometimes on a shield party azure and gules, the box or. It bears the inscription *Nulle Que Vous*, which also appears again and again on scrolls introduced among the decorations.

There are forty-six highly finished miniatures (besides a small *cul-de-lampe*, below the first miniature, representing a blue robed reader, male or female, reading aloud at a desk to various listeners). They illustrate very closely the various matters described in the poem. They are all surrounded with very elaborate ornamentation work, conventional leaves and scrolls, with occasionally a more realistic bird or beast or flower introduced; and are richly heightened with gold.

The Poem, which was originally written without divisions, has been divided in this manuscript into chapters, each with its special rubric. The division was no doubt made for the purpose of illustration, and possibly for this particular manuscript, although there is one single rubric, XXIII, without illustration.*

*The 47 chapter-headings; and description
of the 46 Miniatures.*

CAP. I. Ci commence le livre du chastel de labour de povrete et de Richesse. Et comment besoing necessite souffrete et disete viennent assaillir un homs nouvel marie soy gisant en son lit.

MIN. I. Man and wife in bed, she sleeping, he awake. Four figures entering in various costumes, two male and two female.

MIN. I. b. (a *cul-de-lampe*). A reader, in conventual garb, at a desk, five listeners.

* Thus there are forty-seven "chapters"—one more than the number of miniatures.

CAP. II. Comment besaing necessite souffrete et disete assaillent et prengnent de tous costez ce nouvel marie estant en son lit avec sa femme.

MIN. 2. Man and wife in bed, she sleeping, he sitting up, nude to the waist. Four figures as before. One of the two male figures seizing the man round the waist, the other threatening him.

CAP. III. Comme pensee la hideuse vielle se mist sur le pis du nouvel marie. Et comment le hideux villain bossu soussy l'assault et tormente tresdurement.

MIN. 3. Man and wife in bed, she sleeping, he awake; a hideous hag kneels on him; an old man on crutches advances.

CAP. IV. Comment desconfort qui estort plus noir que meure vint terriblement tormenter et assaillir ce nouvel mesnagier et lui fist pis que tous les autres.

MIN. 4. Man and wife in bed, she sleeping, he sitting up, nude to the waist. A black and monstrous man clawing at the bed.

CAP. V. Comment desesperance la fille de desconfort vient visiter ce nouvel mesnagier.

MIN. 5. Man and wife in bed, she sleeping, he sitting up, nude to the waist. A hideous hag, in yellow ragged garment, advancing with uplifted hands.

CAP. VI. Comme desesperance se depart de ce nouvel mesnagier. Et comme une tresnoble dame appelee raison vient vers lui grant erre.

MIN. 6. Man and wife in bed, she sleeping, he sitting up, nude to waist. A hag in torn yellow dress escaping on one side, on the other a comely damsel in crimson dress approaching, holding a triple mirror.

CAP. VII. Comment Raison admoneste et enseigne ce nouvel mesnagier.

MIN. 7. The husband is out of bed completely dressed in blue overall, black boots and black cap. His wife is still asleep in bed. Reason, a "lean, long-sided dame," is seated in a chair speaking to him, holding in her hand the triple mirror.

CAP. VIII. Comment Raison parle a ce nouveau mesnagier d'Orgueil, et d'umilite et autres vertus contraires a ce pechie.

MIN. 8. In background Reason and the New-married. In front, to Right a richly dressed knight on horseback, with men in armour on foot, and a banner bearing device of a black devil astride of a golden lion; to Left, a group: a man in garb of monk, and women, as nuns, &c., one with sword and crown, led by a damsel white-robed and meek-looking.

CAP. IX. Comment Raison parle au nouvel mesnagier du pechie d'envie, et de foy et de loyaulte et des autres vertus contraires a cestui pechie mortel.

MIN. 9. A high-walled castle, four female figures looking down over the battlements; nine figures, variously dressed, assaulting with axe, spear, swords and scaling ladders. Reason and the New-married in background.

CAP. X. Ci parle Raison au mesnagier du pechie de Ire et des vertus contraires a icellui pechie. Cest-assavoir, Debonnairete, Pacience et Attrempance.

MIN. 10. A crenellated tower behind a wall with door, on which are five female figures with white banner bearing a gold cross. Five figures in various costumes assaulting the wall with swords, bows, battle-axe, and scaling-ladder.

CAP. XI. Comment Raison parle et devise au nouvel mesnagier du pechie de paresce et de la vertu de diligence.

MIN. 11. Four female figures in front, two standing, two sitting, one holding scroll inscribed *Asseillōs diligēce*. In background, woman with distaff, and man at work in the fields. Reason and the New-married looking on.

CAP. XII. Comment Raison parle au nouveau mesnagier et declare le pechie de convoitise rapine et usure et aussi de charite et largesse et autres vertus contraires a cestui dampnable et mauvais pechie.

MIN. 12. Many figures. Two tables with female figures, one counting gold and silver coins, with scroll inscribed *Metons a pourete largezce* : the other giving alms. In front a man on crutches. In background a thief cutting off the purse of a man. Reason and the New-married in background.

CAP. XIII. Comment Raison parle et declaire au nouvel mesnagier le pechie de gloutonnie et les vertus contraires a icellui pechie, Cest assavoir abstinence et sobriete.

MIN. 13. A castle attacked by men with bows and arrows, &c., and in front a butler carrying a jug and bowl, and a cook carrying a spit with joints on it. On the castle three figures, one emptying a bottle on the attackers, one holding a (?) board, with inscription (difficult to decipher). Reason and New-married in background.

CAP. XIV. Ci parle Raison au nouvel mesnagier au pechie de luxure et de la vertu de chastete.

MIN. 14. To L. well-dressed men and women, and woman holding by hand youth with bows and arrows. To R. female figure holding her mantle wide to cover figures, of which two are nuns. Scrolls bearing inscriptions : (?) *Gardons nous de pechie* (?) : *Vivons chastement*. Reason and New-married in background.

CAP. XV. Comment Raison dit que homme et femme conjoings par mariage ne doivent avoir compaignie

charnelle l'un avec l'autre fors en entencion de faire lignee.

MIN. 15. Reason seated, addressing man and woman standing. Scene out of doors.

CAP. XVI. Comment Raison ordonne et baille mesure au nouvel mesnagier pour lui gouverner.

MIN. 16. Out of doors. Reason standing, proffers balance and weights to the New-married, standing.

CAP. XVII. Comment Raison convoit le nouveau mesnagier et lui monstre et enseigne le (le) chemin pour venir au noble manoir de Richesse.

MIN. 17. Reason and New-married on path (inscribed *Au chastel de richesse*) through sloping meadows: castle on hill.

CAP. XVIII. Comment Raison parle de destinee en Impugnant et Blasmant tous ceulx qui s'i abusent et arrestent.

MIN. 18. Reason and N.M. standing. Reason with scroll, *Ne tarete point a ce*. The three Fates, bearing name-scrolls, *Lachesis*, *Atropos*, *Clato*: Atropos, taller than the others, holds distaff and shears; Lachesis is spinning with her hands, Clotho holding the thread.

CAP. XIX. Comment Raison devise et declaire au nouvel mesnagier le chemin du manoir de pourete et lui deffent qu'il n'y aille.

MIN. 19. Reason and N.M. at junction of two roads labelled *paresce* and *Va par diligēce*: at end of first a figure on crutches; at end of right hand road four richly dressed figures in front of castle.

CAP. XX. Comment Raison enjoint et deffent a ce nouvel mesnagier derechief le chemin de pourete par diligence, et parle de deux sentes dont la destre est souffisance, et la senestre est convoitise

qui par fortune l'aveugle fait tresluchier les hommes
du plus hault au plus bas.

MIN. 20. Reason and N.M. at junction of two roads
labelled (L.) *convoitise*, at end of which are two female
figures holding a purse (?): and (R.) *Souffisanse*, on or beside
which are two female figures holding spindle and distaff.

CAP. XXI. Ci parle Raison au nouvel mesnagier ce
comme il doit fuir la sente de convoitise et suivre
la sente de souffisance. Et aussi s'il est serviteur
comme il doit estre obeissant et serviable a son
maistre.

MIN. 21. Reason and N.M. (Reason with scroll *Garde
toy de convoitise*) at junction of roads labelled (L.) *convoitise*,
at end of which is a female figure counting money at a
table: (R.) *Souffisanse*, at end of which are two sheep,
and a man at work with hoe or mattock.

CAP. XXII Comment Raison admonnest ce nouvel
mesnagier d'amer loyalment son maistre s'il est
serviteur.

MIN. 22. Indoors. R. and N.M. seated: a serving
man in black, standing.

CAP. XXIII. Comment Raison dit au nouvel mesnagier
que s'il est serviteur Il doit avoir en soy trois
condicions de trois significacions.

[No Miniature.]

CAP. XXIV. Comment Raison expose au nouvel
mesnagier ou cas qu'il seroit serviteur les signi-
ficacions des trois condicions devant dictes, cest
assavoir dos d'asne, oreilles de vache, et groing de
porcel.

MIN. 23. R. and N.M. standing (different scene from
last), regarding a serving man in black, with particoloured
coat with labels (illegible).

CAP. XXV. Comment Entendement vint visiter ce nouvel mesnagier et lui dit qu'il vueille retenir les enseignemens de Raison, et acomplir ses commandemens.

MIN. 24. The Bedroom again : wife asleep in bed : N.M. seated, addressed by man in furred robe, standing (with label *Intellectus* and white dove on his head). Reason leaving the chamber.

CAP. XXVI. Comment par le conseil d'Entendement le nouvel mesnagier pensoit aux enseignemens que Raison lui avoit moustrez. Et lors s'en vint a lui un moult sage advocat nomme Barat acompaignie de tricherie son clerc et de Hoquelerie son varlet.

MIN. 25. Same scene as last : but Understanding and Reason both gone : and three men as above, the Advocate in red, with black skull cap, the Clerk holding pens and carrying inkhorn, etc., the Varlet wearing sword.

CAP. XXVII. Comment Barat acompaignie de son clerc Tricherie et de Hoquelerie son varlet se siet delez ce nouvel mesnagier, et lui blasme moult fort la doctrine et les enseignemens de Raison, et le conseille le contraire.

MIN. 26. Scene out of doors. N.M. and the three men as before, Barat alone seated.

CAP. XXVIII. Comment Barat par son mauvais conseil et malice expose monstre et enseigne a ce nouvel mesnagier ses cautelles, sa doctrine, et ses fallaces, et ses autres dampnables vices pour parvenir a hault estat domination et seignourie.

MIN. 27. Scene much as last. But N.M. to right, and the others all three standing.

CAP. XXIX. Comment apres ce que Barat s'est teu, ce nouvel mesnagier est entre en grant esmay

de ce que Barat lui avoit expose, et ne scet auquel s'arrester, ou a Raison ou a Barat.

MIN. 28. Same sort of scene. N.M. alone, the others departing.

CAP. XXX. Comment Entendement revint a ce nouvel mesnagier et le blasme moult fort de ce que par la deception et cautelles de Barat et ses complices il a cuidie servir et obeir a eulx. Et delaissier Dame Raison et ses bons et loyaulx enseignemens.

MIN. 29. Scene as last. N.M. reproved by Understanding, both standing. Above a cherub labelled *Intelligēcia*.

CAP. XXXI. Comment Entendement enseigne et admonnest moult sagement et diligemment ce nouvel mesnagier a croire et obeir a Dame Raison et a ses dottrines et commandemens.

MIN. 30. Indoors: N.R. and U. both standing. U. has white dove on his hat with scroll in beak *intellectuz*.

CAP. XXXII. Comment Entendement se teut de parler. Et lors revint Dame Raison derechief admonnester et introduire ce nouvel mesnagier, et il fut affiance de la servir. Et comme elle retient icellui son feal sergent et serviteur.

MIN. 31. Indoors. Raison, as before, and N.M. clasping extended hands.

CAP. XXXIII. Comment Raison declaire au nouvel mesnagier la gloire de paradis laquel est appareillee pour ceulx qui la serviront et parle du jugement de nostre seigneur Jhesucrist, et aussi des paines d'enfer, et comme les serviteurs Barat seront tous condampnez pardurablement.

MIN. 32.—Reason and N.M. seated in front of Hellmouth, depicted as monstrous fanged jaws, open, with flames and devils within: above the Lord and saints and angels in the Heaven.

CAP. XXXIV. Comment le nouvel mesnagier a mains jointes s'agenouille devant Raison et lui fait hommaige. Et comme Dame Raison s'abesse la chiere et baise icellui nouveau mesnagier en la bouche.

MIN. 33. Out of doors. Reason stooping to kiss the kneeling N.M. Castle in distant background. N.M. has bare legs so as to be kneeling *a nuz genoulz*.

CAP. XXXV. Comment un simple homs et sa femme nomme bon cuer et bonne voulente viennent visiter ce nouvel mesnagier apres ce qu'il ot fait hommage a Dame Raison. Et comme bonne voulente tenoit par la main destre un petit enfant nomme Talent de bien faire, lequel estoit filz d'elle et de bon cuer* son mary.

MIN. 34. Bedroom; wife asleep in bed; N.M. standing, dressed. Man with staff, woman leading child by hand.

CAP. XXXVI. Comment bon cuer et bonne voulente et talent de bien faire leur filz s'assirent tous trois de lez ce nouveau mesnagier et l'admonnestent d'aier au bel chemin de diligence. Par lequel l'en vient au tresnoble chastel de Richesse.

MIN. 35. Bedroom; wife asleep; N.M. sitting, undressed, upright in bed, beside which are seated the man, woman and child.

CAP. XXXVII. Comment ce nouvel mesnagier se lieve de son lit at s'appreste appertement. Et

* Instead of writing the word the scribe has drawn a small heart of the conventional shape.

comme bon cuer et bonne voulente le convoient au chemin de Diligence, et Talent de bien faire leur filz va tout le premier portant la chandelle pour leur esclairier.

MIN. 36. Scene out of doors : but the inside of bedroom is open on L. with wife asleep in bed. N.M. putting on his boot. Man standing, and woman and child holding a lighted candle between them. In distance a castle.

CAP. XXXVIII. Comment bon cuer bonne voulente et talent de bien faire mainent ce nouvel mesnagier jusques a la porte du chastel de labour et le portier nomme soing leur vient au devant moult fierement. Et comme ilz l'applaigent et presentent a icellui portier.

MIN. 37. Castle, surrounded with walls: Gateway in front, with drawbridge. Before it the Porter, holding (?) truncheon, in talk with N.M. and his three companions.

CAP. XXXIX. Comment soing le portier prent ce nouvel mesnagier, et a la relacion de bon cuer bonne voulente et talent de bien faire, le fait entrer ens. Et lui expose et devise l'estre, le gouvernement et la maniere du chastel de labour et la vie et estat des ouvriers d'icellui chastel.

MIN. 38. Almost same as last scene. But the Porter taking hands of N.M.

CAP. XL. Comment Soing et Cure mainent ce nouvel mesnagier dedans le chastel de labour, ou quel il vit des ouvriers plus de cent mille. Et lors aluma sa chandelle et prist sa place et commença a ouvrier. Et comme Paine, les pans a sa seinture, aloit visitant tous les ouvriers.

MIN. 39. Same scene. But no figures without.

Within various small figures at work, sawing, hammering, etc. Overseer on the top of the tower.

[In decorations round are figures representing the four seasons : Sower, reaper, woodcutter, gatherer of grapes.]

CAP. XLI. Comment Paine la chastellaine du chastel demanda a Soing le portier et a Cure sa femme Qui estoit ce nouveau ouvrier ? Et ilz lui dient que Bon Cuer et Bonne Voulente et Talent de Bien Faire leur filz l'avoient leans amene et caucionne et applaigie.

MIN. 40. Scene much as last. N.M. as blacksmith at work at forge ; three persons looking on, one being the Porter.

CAP. XLII. Comment Paine parle au nouveau mesnagier et lui ennorte de tresdiligemment ouvrier, afin que Travail son mary ne se courrouce a l'anuitier quant il le vendra visiter.

MIN. 41. Scene as before. N.M. standing, listening to address from woman in red.

CAP. XLIII. Comment le nouvel mesnagier voit desjeunier les autres ouvriers qui mengoient pain bis des aulx au gros sel, et buvoient de l'eaue a plain musel ; et lors en faisant tousjours son euvre se prist a desjeuner comme les autres ouvriers.

MIN. 42. Castle as before, but on smaller scale. Men on the towers, eating and drinking. Outside the walls a man and a woman working among the vines.

CAP. XLIV. Comment Bon Cuer et bonne voulente, Talent de Bien Faire, Soing et Cure, estoient de lez ce nouvel mesnagier, et l'admonnestoient de tresfort ouvrier. Et comme a l'anuitier Travail le chastelain du chastel le vient conforter, et lui donne congie d'aler a repos le preudoms pour soy aisier.

MIN. 43. Half indoors, half out. N.M. seated before anvil and table with hammer, &c., the three, Bon Cuer, &c., beside; a labourer in whité with sickle and sheaf coming in and accosting him.

CAP. XLV. Comment ce nouvel mesnagier vient a soing le portier et a cure sa femme pour le mettre hors du chastel pour aller a repos. Et comme soing et cure l'admonnestent de revenir a l'eure de matines, et lui defendent qu'il ne croit mie Repos qui maintes gens a deceuz et mis a pourete.

MIN. 44. Outside a gateway with drawbridge. The porter and his wife dismissing N. M., with scroll inscribed *.O. r[e]uiens matin.* Stars in sky.

CAP. XLVI. Comment ce nouvel mesnagier prist congie de Soing le portier du chastel, et s'en vient en la maison de Repos. Et illec trouva sa femme qui lui appareilloit a mengier. Et comme apres souper il compte et dite a sa femme son advison et tout son affaire qui lui estoit venu en son lit, quant de lez lui elle dormoit.

MIN. 45. A room: bed being made in background. In front N. M. and his wife, with table set for eating, fire on hearth, &c.

CAP. XLVII. Comment la femme de ce nouvel mesnagier ramposne son mary de ce qu'il lui avoit dit et racompte, et lui dist que ce n'estoit que fantaisie, et qu'il estoit en frenaisie. Et comme il s'appareille pour couchier; et lors lui souvint de soing et de cure, et pour faire et acomplir leur volente mist la chandelle et le fuisil empres lui pour soy lever devant le jour a l'eure dicte.

MIN. 46. In the bedroom. N. M. holding tinder-box, his wife standing expostulating.

II. The Poem.

Its Title.

In this MS. the title of the Poem—as given in the first rubric—is *Le Livre du Chastel de Labour, de Povreté, et de Richesse*. But it is more usually known as *Le Chemin de Povreté et de Richesse*, the title under which it was printed by the Société des Bibliophiles français, in a modern edition to be mentioned presently. In one of the two MSS. of the poem preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris the title is thus given in the concluding verses—

Icy vueil mon livre à fin traire,
Apellé *La Voie ou L'Adresse*
De Povreté ou de Richesse.*

But apparently the title at the head of the Poem in the same MS. runs: *Le Livre de Povreté et de Richesse*, which corresponds to the second half of the title in the MS. before us.

The actual title in this MS., *Le Chastel de Labour*, appears to be given to this particular poem nowhere else; but that it was, at all events, sometimes attached to it seems plain from the fact that Pierre Gringore gives that title to his remodelled version of the work.

Its Author.

The name of the author of this poem has been apparently preserved to us in one of the two Paris Manuscripts as Jacques Bruant.†

* *Paulin Paris, MSS. franç. de la Bibl. du Roi*, VI., pp. 241, 2.

† The editor of the *Ménagier de Paris* says that neither of the Paris MSS. has preserved his name. But Paulin Paris *loc. cit.* expressly states that it is preserved in the MS. St. Victor 275, to which the same editor alludes, remarking, however, that he had not seen it.

But another author, who introduced the whole of this poem into a prose work of his own entitled *Le Ménagier de Paris*, there calls its author "a worthy and ingenious gentleman of the name of the late Jehan Bruyant, formerly notary to the king at the Chastellet in Paris." Nothing else is known of him; but the Manuscript above mentioned also gives the date of the work as 1342.

The Subject.

The Poem is one of the numerous allegorical compositions which arose, thick as seedlings, under the shadow of the monumental Old-French allegory, the *Roman de la Rose*. Like that, it is told as a quasi-dream; and several of the Personifications, *Raison*, *Faulx-semlant*, *Male-bouche*, are drawn from the great poem. The machinery is also imitated. Just as in the *Roman de la Rose* the "Acteur" is first instructed by *Amour*, then persuaded in another direction by *Raison*, and finally returns to his allegiance to *Amour*, and receives his kiss as a seal; so in this poem the *nouvel marié* or *nouvel ménagier* first harkens to the salutary counsels of *Raison*, is then urged to the contrary by *Barat* (Fraud), but finally returns and follows *Raison*, who also bestows her kiss upon him. (The scene is amusingly represented in the Miniature to Cap. XXIV.).

To modern taste it seems a work of little literary merit, except that of facile versification; and it lacks entirely the wit and poetic power that make the *Roman de la Rose* a great work and a fine poem. The allegorising is commonplace and artificial. Perhaps the most redeeming feature is the occasional introduction

of a versified proverb such as that in the first few lines :

Set by himself a fool, and he
To his own comfort soon will see.*

The Poem has been printed in full, in its place in the *Ménagier de Paris*,† from several MSS., of which the most ancient belonged, in the editor's opinion, to the first half of the fifteenth century. I can find no mention of any MS. of the *Chastel de Labour* of an earlier date. But there are many indications in the MS. before us, as well as in the printed text, that the language had been somewhat modernised from its original style. The French language was, in fact, undergoing considerable modification, rather rapidly, between the date of the poem, 1342, and the date of the surviving MSS. of it.

The number of lines in this Manuscript is 2,618. Adding the last 16 lines, which are here missing, we should have a total of 2,634. In the printed edition there are 2,626.

Analysis of the Poem.

CAP. I. The writer, following exactly the model of the *Roman de la Rose*, feigns that his work was a "vision" which came to him in the night, eighteen or twenty days after his marriage, when the festivities were all over. He lay in bed, his wife asleep by his side (as consistently represented in this MS.). He

* *mettez un fol à part soy, Il pensera de soy chevir.* The latter line is quoted in Cotgrave's Dictionary.

† *Le Ménagier de Paris*: . . . publié pour la première fois par la Société des Bibliophiles françois, 2 vols., Paris, 1847.

himself, however, was awake, when there came to him a brother and three sisters of disagreeable appearance. The man was Want, and the women Necessity, Suffering, and Hunger; their father was Poverty, and their mother Misfortune.

CAP. II. The four fell upon the unfortunate newly-married man and squeezed and struck him, pulled him about, and nearly choked him, while they all "scolded" him.*

CAP. III. Next came a hideous hag named Anxiety (*Pensée*) who maltreated him even worse; and was followed by a hideous man named Care, who outdid the rest.

CAP. IV. These visitors were followed by a tall villain, black as a mulberry, named Discomfort, who continued the treatment, and nearly drove the unfortunate man mad; and he begins to reflect with himself on his debts and difficulties.

CAP. V. But he was interrupted by the visitation of a creature looking like a mad-woman, named Despair, daughter of Discomfort. Her attentions reduce the poor man to the lowest depths of misery:

Trouble is mine, where'er I be;
Little I care what comes to me,
What rain or tempest overtake.
What cannot bend must surely break;
What cannot bloom must fade and dry.
Only one death I have to die;
And I have heard a saw uncivil,
That, if you're going to the Devil,
No use it is to dawdle round;
Born to be hanged will not be drowned.

* This MS. reads *se degrouta* (for *degrouça*). The printed text gives *desgleta*, an unknown word, with *destrouça* as variant.

CAP. VI. Just as he has become desperate, and determined to give up his honesty, and get livelihood and wealth by fair means or foul, there arrives a very noble lady, fair and beautiful, named Reason, at whose appearance Despair fled as fast as feet could carry her.

CAP. VII. Reason reproves the man for his evil thoughts; and bids him attend to her, love God and the Virgin, acquire virtuous habits, and by means of the Seven Virtues resist the Seven Vices, to which he is enslaved.

CAP. VIII. (Continuation of Reason's discourse). When he sees Pride advancing against him, with his company, Derision, Disdain, Despite, Presumption, Trample-under-foot, Arrogance, Haughtiness, Contempt, Over-weaning, and others, let him at once call to his aid Humility, Devoutness, Sincerity (*Franchise*), Contemplation, Fear-of-God, Gentleness, Pity, Justice, Simplicity, Equity, and many others who will come with them, who will quickly overcome the opposing forces.

CAP. IX. The next assault to be guarded against is that of Envy, with whom are Hatred, Falsity, Murder, Treason, False-seeming,* Detraction, Enmity and Ill-speech. These must not be allowed to come near; he is to run† at once to seek aid from Faith and Loyalty, who will succour him immediately, and bring with them Peace, Concord, True-friendship, Compassion, Kindliness, Truth, Conscience, Unity, with the rest.

* *Faulx-Semblant* and *Male-bouche* are conspicuous characters in the second part of the *Roman de la Rose*.

† The reading of the printed text *T'encueur* is here right. This MS. has *Ton cuer*.

CAP. X. The next assault is one to be much dreaded, namely that of Anger and his company.* Cruelty is the standard-bearer, and the others are Frowardness, Passion, Violence, Rage, Fury, and the rest. To resist them seek Good-temper, who will come to succour, together with Sweetness,† Tolerance, Self-control, Moderation, Patience, Discretion, Self-restraint, Correction.

This Anger is a foe most fell ;
For once the heart wax hot and swell,
So quick the flame of Violence grows,
Body and soul he risks to lose.
When such a man to wrath gives rein,
And will himself no more restrain,
‡ My sister Order then sets on,
And works for his damnation.
For such she is, by law and lot,
That whoso for himself will not
Apply the due correction, she
On him lays hand so heavily,
That in a trice he comes to shame.
In sooth full sore she hateth them
On whom her hand she needs to lay ;
And therefore throws the whole straightway

* The line succeeding *Et tous ceulx de sa compaignie*, which is missing in the MSS. followed by the printed text, is given in this MS.: *Qu'avec lui est acompaignie*. If this is really the author's, and not merely a copyist's stop-gap, it justifies the editor's supposition that "it is not necessary to the understanding of the sentence."

† *Douceur* has been mentioned before as one of the train of *Humilité*, but perhaps the quality here is intended to be rather a different one.

‡ The editor of the printed text has not understood this passage, and rejects as "nonsense" the reading of three MSS., *Ma seur Mesure*, which is assuredly right. The MS. before us reads *Ma suer mesure en soy se met* ; but the printed text *en luy se met* is better, corresponding to the phrases *elle s'y met* and *ou il fault qu'elle s'y mette*, below. In Cap. XV., last line but 4, Reason again speaks of *Ma suer Mesure*.

*Into the stock-pot, stop nor stay,
Soon as one wrongs her any way.

CAP. XI. Reason now warns against Sloth, whose standard-bearer is Indolence, and his followers Timidity, Laziness, Cowardice, Negligence, Silliness, Don't-care, Faint-heart. He is in bad case who is entrapped by them, poor cowardly creatures though they are.† Let him take against these Diligence,‡ Readiness, Good-heart, Good-desire, Mind-to-do-well, Carefulness, Pains-taking. These will soon put the others to rout. For they are only brave against him who yields to them.

CAP. XII. The fifth attack to be guarded against is that of Avarice, with his standard-bearer Covetousness, and his followers Rapine, Usury, False-troth, Malice, Trickery, Murder, Theft, Robbery, Perfidy, Deception, Deceit, Craft. When he sees them coming against him, let him make Charity his high-constable, whose suite is composed of Sufficiency, Largesse and Almsgiving.

CAP. XIII. The sixth assault is headed by Gluttony:

Nulz temps ne puet estre assouvis (satisfied),
Mais tousjours semble estre alouvis (ravenous as a wolf).

* This MS., like the three MSS. mentioned by the editor of the printed text, reads *brouet*; and it seems preferable to suppose this to be a semi-proverbial saying—of the kind of which this author is so fond—than to adopt the editor's suggestion of *brouvette*, "a punishment-cart," which is never found in the form of *brouvet*.

† In l. 19. The reading of the printed text *Tant ne soient ils* is right. This MS. has *Tous*; and again in l. 21 the reading of the printed text *Aincois simples à mate chiere* is better than that of this MS. *Mas cois simples et mate chiere*.

‡ Further on in the poem, *Diligence* is the Road to the Castle of Riches; *Soing* is the porter at the Castle of Labour, *Cure* is his wife; and *Bon-cuer*, *Bonne-voulenté* and *Talent-de-bien-faire* (their son) are the persons who introduce the author to the Castle of Labour.

The attack is two-fold ; the one part is led by Gorman-dise, with Appetite, Greediness, Drunkenness, Excess, Indulgence, in his train. The other " Battle " is in charge of Wicked-tongue,* who has with him Fault-finding, Calumny, Slander, Profanity, Rashness, Loose-living, and others. To resist the two-fold attack, it is necessary to seek Abstinence and her companion Sobriety, with their fellows.

'Fore all things thy defences dress
Against the assault of Drunkenness !
For who to Drunkenness shall give
Himself, no power hath long to live,
Or life is weariness to him,
When his whole head and eke each limb
Become to him a pain and grief,
And his hand shaketh as a leaf.
And quicker doth a man through drink
To cold, disease or weakness sink.
The drunkard finds his food no stay,
And all his liver wastes away.
The drunkard (grief and shame betide !)
Is practically a suicide.

CAP. XIV. The seventh assault has for captain Lasciviousness ; and it is expedient to keep well away from the ways of him and his crew. If the bold archer† Foolish-look approaches to take aim at a man,

* This MS. reads : *L'autre bataille a Male-bouche
Qui maine avec lui reprouche.*

The printed text has *est* for *a* in the former line, and *qui n'aime que mauvais reprouche* for the second. Perhaps the original line was *Qui maine avecques lui reprouche*.—*Male-bouche* is a character in the *Roman de la Rose*, and is rendered " Wicked-Tongue " in the so-called Chaucer translation.

† In the *Roman de la Rose*, the youth who carries Love's bow is called *Dous-Regars*. The three arrows here do not correspond with any of the arrows of Love in the *Roman de la Rose* ; naturally enough, the object in one being to extol, in the other to disparage, the shafts of Love.

let him be off at once ; and once escaped their borders, let him carefully avoid the paths of Remembrance, who, if he can, will lead him into range again, to be hit by the arrows of Thought and Foolish-joy, or the cross-bow of Desire. Once give way to Foolish-love, and further resistance is vain. The weapons to take are the shield of Chastity, and the lance of Resolution. With these Foolish-look and Foolish-thought may be resisted ; and if they are powerless, none of the rest can do hurt. Looking (*Regart*) is the most powerful of things for good or for harm.

Hence one for sooth the saw receives
 “ What eye not seeth heart not grieves.”

CAP. XV. In continuation of her warning against Lasciviousness, Reason preaches a short discourse on the right and wrong of sex relations, to precisely the same purpose—though much less pithily expressed—as the discourse on the same subject by the same speaker, *Raison*, in the *Roman de la Rose*, lines 5,124 et seq. (Ed. F. Michel). This writer begins :—

Conjoings *ja ne devroient veoir
 L'un avec l'autre afaire avoir
 Par charnelle conjunction
 †Se n'estoit en entencion
 De lignie multiplier. etc.

In the *Roman de la Rose*, *Raison* says :—

Continuer l'estre devin
 A son pooir vouloir déust
 Quiconques à fame géust. etc.

CAP. XVI. Reason, having exhausted the list of vices and virtues, now returns to general instruction,†

* Mis-written *sa* for *ja*. † Mis-written *ce*.

‡ The chapter-division in this MS. comes in the wrong place, and the first four lines of this chapter belong properly to the preceding.

her advice comprising the curious mixture of Christian altruism ("Love your neighbour as yourself," "Do as you would be done by") etc., and worldly wisdom, ("Think before you speak," "Do not interfere in quarrels," etc.) so characteristic of mediæval didactics.

CAP. XVII. Somewhat abruptly the discourse turns to the method of arriving at the "fair Manor of Richesse." He is to take the road to the right which is called Diligence, and is paved with Perseverance ; which leads easily to the abode of Riches. The road to the left is called by lay folk *Paresse*, and by clerks *Accide*, (Idleness), a bad road all unpaved, full of holes and puddles, the large puddles of Insolence, Ignorance, and Silliness. This is the road of Poverty, a lady very little esteemed. If once a man has chosen this road, he will find it very difficult to get back to the road leading to Riches.

CAP. XVIII. (Continuation of Reason's discourse.) Some people maintain that it is "Destiny" which has led them to act thus—their destiny given them at their birth. But Destiny has no power over a man which Reason cannot resist and overcome ; and it is quite false to make Destiny into a kind of virtue and a subject of pride, or to say that Good and Evil come of themselves, and that it is useless to resist Destiny.

For if the will of God had been
That Fate should have such power o'er men
As these maintain, then what should skill
Good action or good speech, or will
To give oneself to works of good ?
Do well, indeed, none could or would,
If of well-doing no good came,
But they died wretched all the same.

It follows, if you thus begin,
That should one set himself to sin,
To rob or murder, wound or smite,
(Since all in vain it were to fight
With fate, who forces him in fact
Resistlessly to evil act)
Yet should he not be pointed to :
He did what he was bound to do.
And God Himself, who judgeth all,
No wrath on such can justly call,
Since the man's sins were not his own,
Nor of his act, but Fate's alone.

CAP. XIX. Continuation of description of the
Chemin de Povreté, a road so rotten that one goes in
waist-deep :

A road where no man runs I trow,
But certès it is short enow.
Foul though it be, and much to mend,
Small time it takes to reach the end.

CAP. XX. Take warning by the fate of those who
have gone this way ; and choose the way of Diligence
which leads to the house of Riches. But even here,
midway of the road, are two paths, one to right and one
to left. The good one to choose is that to the right, the
road of "Enough" (*Souffisance*), which makes men truly
rich and happy, and without which no man were really
so, even were he King of France. The other road, to
the left, is that of Covetousness ; but those who take it
are not satisfied even when they reach the fair castle of
Riches :—

Contented ne'er with gotten gain,
While ought without their maw remain ;
The house of Riches they disdain
To rest at, stretching thence again,

On whiter than wheat-bread intent
But, sooth to say, full oft repent
For as they reach the topmost top,
All in an instant comes a drop.
Dame Fortune with the sightless eyes,
Rolls round her wheel, and as it flies,
Down in the mud they fall straightway.
Such hap men witness any day.

In their shame and desperation these enter the road of Idleness, and straightway arrive at Poverty, and either die in great wretchedness or commit some crime and are brought to justice, and what is worse, to eternal damnation.*

CAP. XXI. This road then is to be avoided, and the road of "Enough" taken; and Reason now goes on to instruct her pupil as to his duties if he is a Servant. He is not to be proud or insolent to his Master, but willing and obliging; he is never to argue or contradict, whatever his master may say; never to do ought to displease him; but to love him and be faithful. A contrast is drawn between the service of Love and the service of Fear.

CAP. XXII. Service without Love is worthless: the master will treat the servant with contempt or dismiss him in disgrace, and give him such a character as will damage him in all men's eyes.

CAP. XXIII. The Loyal Servitor should have three conditions: the back of an Ass, the ears of a Cow, and the snout of a Swine.

CAP. XXIV. He must have the back of an Ass, in

* Et qui pis est leur dampnement,
Ou tousjours vivront en tourment.

The printed text has not these two lines.

being ready to bear all that his master puts upon him, to remember all his needs, to take all responsibility, and remind him of things when necessary. He must have the ears of a Cow, to listen without anger to his reproofs, and display wide open ears, without seeming to heed his master's passion. He must have the snout of a Swine, in being ready to eat whatever is set before him of food or drink without demur, whether there be much or little ; just as the pig's snout gropes everywhere, rejects nothing, and finds everything good and delicious.

CAP. XXV. Reason ended her discourse ; and the author finds at his side a wise and well-renowned man named Understanding, who bids him pay good heed to the advice of Reason ; but is himself content with a very short discourse :—

Car on doit mettre son assent
Autant à un mot comme à cent.

CAP. XXVI. Accordingly the author carefully thinks over the whole of Reason's advice, and is endeavouring to get it by heart ; when he sees approaching a wise-looking man, who appeared to be an advocate, wearing a furred gown and hood. His name was Fraud (*Barat*), and he had with him a clerk named Trickery, and an attendant named Chicanery.

CAP. XXVII. Fraud seats himself beside the author, and in sober language reproves him for listening to Reason. Those who follow her live poor, and never reach wealth or honour :—

The pure of heart and clean of hand
Is ne'er among the great or grand.

If, on the other hand, he will reject Reason and follow the way of Fraud, he will become rich and

powerful, and be served and honoured, and live in as great style as a duke or a king. All that is needed is to carry out the injunctions of Fraud, which he proceeds to expound.

CAP. XXVIII. First and foremost be a Flatterer, and let your chant be always the *Placebo*.* Make much of people, and feign yourself a faithful and particular friend. Do not be generous, but stingy, and in any company spend nothing you can avoid. Make yourself sought after as good company by your jests and quips,† and let these be as pointed as possible. Next, you must not mind cheating every kind of person, and trying to get their money; get things without paying for them, and falsify your accounts, no matter if it be a sin or not. As for your debtors, put the screw on them, devour them and bring them to poverty without pity :

What care you if they lose their all,
So to your pouch their substance fall ?
Be ready aye to get and gain,
But careful ne'er to give again.
Hear my command : Owe what you may
To any man, Thou shalt not pay.

If ever you are summonsed, I and my clerk and my servitor will come to your help, and enable you to win your case, right or wrong. There are three other points you must attend to, although not of such importance. The first is to be well-dressed ; the second is to lie cleverly and in fine language ; the third is to do

* *I will please*. This is the first word of the antiphon in the Vespers for the Dead.

† The reading of this MS., *guogues*, seems better than the *gorgées* of the printed text.

whatever you mean to do boldly, whether it be well meant or ill meant.* No one can get on in life without deceit and malice : smile with your lips only ; fawn on the rich, and never mind the poor. Do as I bid you, and you will be rich, and have all you desire. If, on the other hand, you follow Reason, you will be wretched and poor. It is for you to decide.

CAP. XXIX. Here Fraud ended his discourse ; and the author fell to thinking of the opposition between him and Reason, inclining rather to the counsel of Fraud.

CAP. XXX. Hereupon comes Understanding, and severely reproveth the author for listening to Fraud, and leaving Reason. All who ever hearkened to Fraud have come to shame, being tempted to their ruin by Foolish-thought. For whatever is gained through Fraud is of no permanent good. Fraud is but a poor logician ; his major premiss and his middle term are sound ; but his conclusion is always shame and confusion. What Fraud amasses in twenty years, Fortune brings to nought in one hour. For Right, who arranges and orders all things fitly, cannot bear him, but is ever on the side of Reason.

CAP. XXXI. Therefore follow Reason and serve her. Wiser than you have come to harm through following Fraud ; rather, they were not truly wise, though so reputed. For there are fools who are held wise in this world, and wise who are held fools. The rich man is thought wise, however foolish he may really be ; and the poor man thought a fool, however wise.

* The printed text has *Soit bien pensé ou mal pensé*. This MS. reads *En faiz, en diz et em (= en) pensé*.

Understanding then ends his discourse ; and the author decides that he had better take his advice and pin his faith on Reason.

CAP. XXXII. Upon this Reason herself arrives,

Of colour fresh and blithe of cheer,
As holding nought on earth so dear
As him who to her sway doth render
His whole soul up in glad surrender.

She bids the author now swear allegiance to her, and stand firm in spite of all that Fraud may say. In spite of all she told him before (she complains), as soon as her back was turned he shifted round to Fraud, just as a weathercock is moved whichever way the wind blows. Her service is perfect freedom ; and a man who serves her may stand unashamed before Pope or King, Duke or Count. Her guerdon, moreover, is two-fold, as she will proceed to prove.

CAP. XXXIII. First, in serving Wisdom, you may live securely,* fearing none but God, “ mon père,” † and secondly, after death you will enter into Paradise and live for ever. Both these benefits will be lost in serving Fraud, who can give nothing but the pleasure of acquiring wealth ; and often when it has been acquired it will suddenly be lost, and then none will be sorry for you, but all will rejoice, and say,

His fortune from the Devil rose,
And to the Devil back it goes.

Keep, therefore, your heart clean and pure ; and have humility in yourself, as well as loyalty, faith, and truth.

* The printed text has *Pues tu vivre* ; this MS. reads incorrectly *Pour vivre*.

† Reason here, as in the *Roman de la Rose*, claims to be Daughter of God.

And see that your humility is real and not feigned. For some make pretence of humility, and seem to the world to be worthy men, while they are full of hypocrisy and foxiness. They deceive men indeed, but not God ; and will be manifest at the Day of Judgment.

He will sit middle on the throne,
His wounds to all the people shown,
The crown of thorn, the spear, the nails ;
And every soul shall to the scales ;
No king nor emperor but then
Shall quake for fear, like common men ;
The cobbler and the count shall be
Exactly of the same degree ;
And *cheap-budge-wearers equal all
With any king and cardinal.

The good, the followers of Reason, will be separated from the bad, the followers of Fraud ; and will go to joy, while the others have *grant pleur, grant cri, et grant douleur*. Now, therefore, she says, do me homage ; and continue in my service henceforth.

The author hesitating, Reason attacks him sharply:—

†Then quoth she, Answer !—Not one word
Have you, methinks, perceived or heard.

But he defends himself by reminding her that she herself had instructed him always to listen well before replying, and not be in haste to answer. And she commends him for his obedience to her injunctions.

CAP. XXXIV. He vows allegiance to Reason on his knees ; and she bends and kisses him ; and as she does so vanishes. But he feels her still within him, and never after consented to go against her.

* Godefroy quotes examples of *rois* to show it is the fur of some small animal. But he does not say what.

† The reading of this MS., *Lors me dist, Respons !* seems better than that of the printed text, *Lors me dist Raison*.

CAP. XXXV. While he is in this mind, there came to him a man and wife of simple appearance, the latter leading a child by the hand. The man's name was Good-heart, the woman's Good-desire, and their child's Mind-to-do-well ; and they greeted him cordially.

CAP. XXXVI. Good-heart accosts him pleasantly, and says that as Reason has become his companion, the three of them will accompany him, and not leave him till they have set him on the good road leading to Riches. The author accepts gladly, professing his despair of finding the road of Diligence without help. Good-heart bids him get up and dress himself. To come to good he must rouse himself while he is still sound asleep. Little sleep and much waking are needed for this road. For by much sleep good may be lost.* It is therefore wise to endure a little abstinence, for the sake of reaching a state of plenty. Good-desire and Mind-to-do-well each adds a few words to the same effect.

CAP. XXXVII. The author then (regardless of the fact that all this is a dream !) gets up and dresses himself. Good-desire lights the candle, and in low tones (*quære*, not to awake the wife ?) bids her son carry it ; and so they set out.

CAP. XXXVIII. The four set out together, and arrive at the road of Diligence, which the author confesses he had never entered before, being unable to

* The next lines are puzzling :

• Nuls ne s'en scet à quoi aherdre
Se n'est à robe dessirée.

S'aherdre à is to attach oneself to, abandon oneself to : and the sense seems to be " None can addict himself to sleep without coming to rags " : but it is not easy to get this, or any other meaning, out of the literal translation.

get to it. A little way along this road they come to a castle, which they sought to enter. But a fierce-looking porter stops them, enquiring roughly of the author if he wished to enter without leave. None could enter without obedience to him and his wife. Mind-to-do-well, Good-heart, and Good-will each in turn speak up for him.

CAP. XXXIX. And the porter accepts their assurances ; and takes the author by the hand, telling him that he must obey him and his wife if he wishes to see Riches.* This castle is called the Castle of Labour ; he, the porter, is named Heed, his wife Carefulness, and the lord and lady of the castle are called Hard-work and Pains. To them he shall now be taken at once, if he is prepared to endure, otherwise he will be thrust out at a moment's notice, without warning. There is a much-used proverb, " The loaf is shaped at the oven's mouth." †

Whereupon the author asseverates strongly his intention of not going back :—

Ne'er shall you see me alter now
For cold or heat or sweaty brow.

CAP. XL. Heed and Carefulness then lead the author quickly into the castle, where he sees more than a hundred thousand workers hard at work.

Woman nor man was idle found ;
So loudly did the castle sound
With beating and with hammering
One had not heard God thundering.
Though for three days he had not slept
A man were here from slumber kept.

* This MS. reads " come to Riches."

† *Lit.*, The baker shapes his horn-bread as he puts it in the oven.
(" Well begun is half done.")

The author is all anxiety to begin, and being allowed to do so he takes his place, and puts his candle ready in a candlestick ; when lo and behold the Lady of the Castle, "Pains," arrives, going her rounds among the workers.

Her skirts were kilted to her waist,
And sooth she went as one in haste ;
So fiercely fast she moved about
Her blood well-nigh she sweated out :
Nor any time a mantle wore,
But just a jacket,* nothing more.
And sometimes, when 'twas fresh and clean,
Even in her chemise was seen.

The Lady Pains perceives the new labourer, as having only arrived this day ; and enquires who he is.

CAP. XLI. Heed replies that this man has been very desirous of being introduced to Pains, and that Good-heart and Good-desire and Mind-to-do-well have vouched for him, that he has no mind to be idle. Nay verily, cries Carefulness loudly, that has he not indeed.† She and her husband will be surety for him. Pains answers that she will try him if it really is so.

CAP. XLII. And approaching him, she speaks kindly to him ; but warns him that none may relax or rest here, or he will be quickly thrust out. He promises that she shall have no ground of complaint.

Well spoken, friend, she answered. See
That action well to word agree,

* The reading of this MS. *pure* (*en pure coste*) seems better than the printed text *povre* (*en sa povre cote*). *Coste* for *cotte* is found in earlier French in the Saintonge dialect. Here it may be merely a slip of the pen.

† *Ce n'a mon*, an obsolete emphatic phrase. *Ce*, the reading of this MS. is right. The printed text has *se*.

Or 'tis not worth one garlic-sprout ;
So that, to-night, when, turn about,
Hard-work, my husband, goes his round,
Your duty duly done be found.
For I at morn and he at night
Look to our folk that all goes right.
Strive not to rouse him ! for a touch
Will set him scolding over much.

The author then falls to work till he sees the daylight beginning through the windows, when he puts out his candle, but still goes on working without stop or stay, till the hour of breakfast,

Which breakfast is and dinner too
In one, the way that labourers do.

He looked with interest on his fellow-labourers, who all fell to with great appetite on dry bread, garlic, and salt ; and ate nothing else,*

As beef or mutton, goose or fowl ;
Then in both hands they took the bowl,
And deeply set themselves to swill
The good plain water to their fill.

CAP. XLIII. In looking at this scene, the author feels a great desire to do as the other workers, "though I had never learnt" : and he took some "bread of Corbeil,"† salt and garlic, and some "horse's wine," (*i.e.*, water), and ate and drank this plain fare with the

* The reading of this MS., *Ne ils ne mengoient riens el*, is better than the printed text *Ne il ne mengoit riens en el*.

† This MS. omits two lines which in the printed text follow the line, *Lors je fis tant que j'eus du pain*.

De Corbueil, du sel et des aulx,
Et si prins du vin aux chevaulx.

"Pain de Corbueil" says the editor of the printed text, was a large sort of loaf brought from Corbeil.

greatest appetite, going on with his work all the time. So that at the end he felt as if he had been at a feast and had "mutton, beef, chicken, peacocks, pasties, and tarts and tartlets, little rolls, and rare wines, Burgundy, Gascon, Angevin, Beaune, Rochelle, and Saint-Pourçain, which one puts in one's bosom to cure a birth-mark" (or mole).

CAP. XLIV. He then continues working hard, watched by Good-heart, Good-desire, Mind-to-do-well, and encouraged by Heed and Carefulness, who promised him that he should be well paid; and when night fell these latter prepared a candle that he might work till Curfew, for it was winter,* when naturally one does not stop till one hears the Curfew ring. When this time arrived he rejoiced, for he was weary and worn out, and felt "an appetite which is called Hunger." At that point came Hard-work, the Castellan, who commends him for his toil, and says that having worked so well he may now go to see Repose, who provides ease,† food, drink, sleep and rest for patient workers;

And gives them consolation
After the tribulation
Which my wife makes them all to bear
When they commend them to her care.

CAP. XLV. The author gladly agrees, and begs the porter and his wife to let him out of the castle. This they do, but charge him straitly to be up in good time in the morning, and so advance on the road to Riches.

* This MS. has the false reading *disner* for *d'iver*.

† The reading of the printed text, *aaisier*, is certainly right. This MS. has *advisier*.

Ev'n Diligence will fail to win
Except one persevere therein.*

Heed warns him that Repose is the most deceitful of creatures,

For ever ready to deceive
At all times all who will receive
The things he will make gift of. Know
All his good things will he bestow
On whoso will accept them. Aye;
But in the end 'tis Well-a-way!
For all who take them out of reason
And out time and out of season,
Without the strong constraint of need.
For verily 'tis truth indeed
That no man in whate'er estate
Can live without it, small nor great;
Yet those who too much trust Repose
Are poor as Job before the close.

Heed then pulls him by the ear, as a memento; and
Carefulness, repeating very much her husband's words,
Exist without Repose none could,
More than without his other food.†

does the same by the other ear.

CAP. XLVI. The allegorical machinery rather
breaks down here. The author now returns home to his

* Here this MS. omits the following four lines, found in the printed text:—

Raison me dist (bien m'en souvient)
Que persévérance convient
En bien faire, c'est ce qui fait
L'ouvrier louer de son bienfait.

† This MS. supplies what is probably the correct reading of this line,
Nez que pourroit sans autre vivre.

The printed text has
Sil n'est ou hors du sens ou yvre,
but supplies in a note the variant
Ne qu'il pourroit sans autre vivre.

wife ; and, sitting down to the supper which she has prepared him, gives her a full account of all that had happened to him, how he had been beset by Want, Necessity and the rest ; how Reason had come to him ; and in short tells her the whole story of his “ vision which was not a dream.”*

CAP. XLVII. His wife tells him he is out of his senses, and all he has told her merely a fantasy. But he holds his peace, and makes no retort.

Long since I learned by rule and rote
That none should e'er give heed or note
To woman's words, say what she will,
Prating or rating, good or ill.
For what a woman wants is praise,
And to be backed in what she says.
She cannot brook to be reproved,
But lauded likes to be, and loved.

He advises all men who have women about them to manage them in this way, and let them have their will.

Still greater folly should it be
A woman—so it seems to me—
Deliberately to displease ;
For never wife will be at ease
Whose husband once has hurt her, till
She have with unrelenting will
Repaid the outrage twofold back ;

* In the couplet following the line

A lui faire hommage ay [trop] mis
this MS. omits the line in the printed text

Si m'y ont moult bien aïdé,
but after the next line,

Bon-cuer et Bonne-Voulenté,
supplies

Qui sont de tres-bon parenté.
No doubt the printed text has the right version.

Else woman's nature she must lack.
Whoso his choice doth wisely make,
The lesser of two ills will take ;
By danger it is good to scrape
A deadlier danger to escape.

The author then prepares for bed, and puts his tinder-box beside his pillow, so as to be ready to light his candle without rising. He bethinks him of Heed and Care, and ends with a prayer that if he cannot attain to great Riches, he may at least achieve Competence.

This MS. ends with the line—

Que véoir me puisse ou demaine
(That I may find me at the abode) ;

but there are sixteen more lines to the end of the poem, which are thus given in the printed Text :

De Richesse la haute Dame,
Au sauvement de corps et d'âme.
Et se je ne puis advenir
A la grant Richesse, et venir
Qui est la mendre selon Dieu,
Je pry la Vierge de cuer pieu,
Qui le benoit fils Dieu porta,
En quoy les pécheurs conforta,
Qu'avenir puisse à Souffisance,
Car j'ay en ce ferme créance
Que qui à Souffisance adresse,
En lui a parfaicte richesse,
Ne jà ne croiray le contraire.
Icy vueil mon livre à fin traire
Appellé la *Voie et l'adresse*
De Povreté et de Richesse.

III. Pierre Gringore's "Chateau de Labour."

The existence of this beautiful and costly Manuscript of the *Chastel de Labour*, and the fact that it was made so long—from eighty to a hundred years or more—after the first appearance of the poem, show that Jean Bruyant's work had gained some considerable esteem. The taste for allegorizing was rampant all through the 15th century, and the elaborate personifications of the *Chastel de Labour* would have appealed strongly to the wider reading public which rushed into existence upon the invention of printing, being partly its consequence, but partly no doubt—proleptically—its cause. It seems, therefore, at first sight, surprising that there should be no early printed edition of the poem. But the reason of this is pretty certainly that an adaptation of it was printed instead. This was Pierre Gringore's *Chateau de Labour*, of which the first edition appeared in 1499, to be succeeded very quickly by three or four others, and in due time by an English translation. This last has recently been edited for the Roxburghe Club by Mr. A. W. Pollard*; and a full account of Pierre Gringore—the second-rate poet utilized as a character by Victor Hugo and Théodore de Banville—and of his indebtedness to the poem before us is given in the admirable introduction. "In making his adaptation" (says Mr. Pollard) Gringore

* The Castell of Labour, translated from the French of Pierre Gringore by Alexander Barclay. Reprinted in facsimile from Wynkyn de Worde's edition of 1506 with the French text of 31 March 1501 and an introduction by Alfred W. Pollard. Edinburgh. Constable, 1905.

“very wisely changed the metre from the couplets used by his original to eight-line stanzas, and if any one will try the experiment of putting couplets into stanzas he will soon find for himself that it is very difficult to keep the exact wording of more than a line and a half of his original at a time. Gringore sometimes conveys more than this without interruption—three lines appear to be his maximum, and are, indeed, the ‘highest possible’—but his phrasing is generally his own, and not only the phrasing, but most of the ornament and the detailed working out of his argument. His debt to Jehan Bruyant is heaviest wherever there is any touch of action about the poem; as for the philosophising, of which there is so much, no doubt he thought he could do it as well himself.”

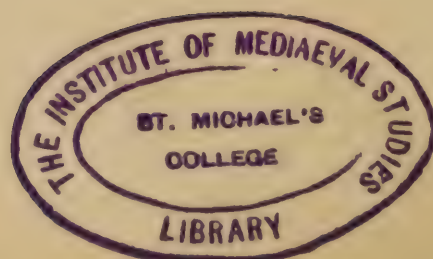
It is interesting to compare the Paris woodcuts of 1499 with the representations of the same scenes, by an earlier designer, in this Manuscript. By the courtesy of the Duke of Buccleuch, and the kind favour of Mr. Pollard, the four specimens of them reproduced in the Roxburghe Club edition are here printed for comparison.



CAP. XXXVII. (cf. MIN. 36).

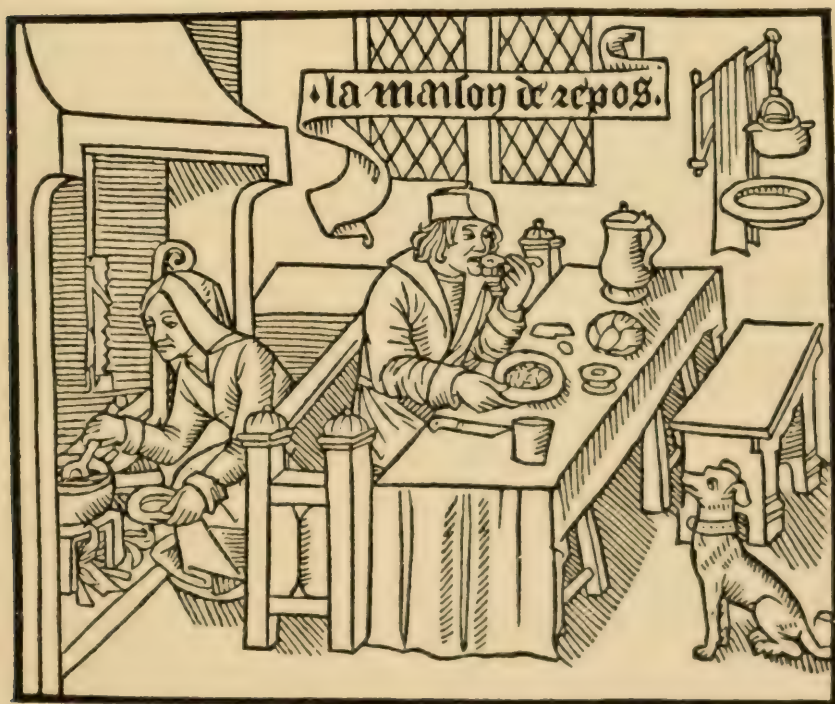


CAP. XLI. (cf. MIN. 40).





CAP. XLIII. (cf. MIN. 42).



CAP. XLVI. (cf. MIN. 45).

Appendix.

LIST OF THE ALLEGORICAL FIGURES AND PERSONIFICATIONS, WITH THE ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS USED IN TRANSLATING.

[All are persons except where the object signified is otherwise noted. Where the characters are named in more than one chapter, they are not repeated in this list, except when they reappear under different conditions.]

CAP. I.

Besoing : *Want*

Necessité : *Necessity*

Souffrete : *Suffering*

Disette : *Hunger*

CAP. III.

Pensée : *Anxiety*

Soussy : *Care*

CAP. IV.

Desconfort : *Discomfort*

CAP. V.

Désespérance : *Despair*

(Daughter of Desconfort)

CAP. VI.

Raison : *Reason*

CAP. VIII.

Orgueil : *Pride*

Desrision : *Derision*

Desdaing : *Disdain*

Despit : *Despite*

Présumption : *Presumption*

Supéditer : *Trample-under-foot*

Fierté : *Arrogance*

Bobance : *Haughtiness*

Desprisier : *Contempt*

Oultrecuidance : *Overweening*

Humilité : *Humility*

Dévotion : *Devoutness*

Franchise : *Sincerity*

Contemplation : *Contemplation*

Paour-de-Dieu : *Fear-of-God*

Douceur : *Gentleness*

(see Cap. X.)

Pitié : *Pity*

Justice : *Justice*

Simplesse : *Simplicity*

Equité : *Equity*

CAP. IX.

Envie : *Envy*

Hayne : *Hatred*

Fauseté : *Falsity*

Murtre : *Murder*

(see Cap. XII.)

Trayson : *Treason*

Faulx-semblant : *False-seeming*

Détraction : *Detraction*

Ennemié : *Enmity*

Male-bouche : *Wicked-tongue*

(see Cap. XIII.)

Foy : *Faith*

Loiaulté : *Loyalty*

Paix : *Peace*

Concorde : *Concord*

Vraie-amitié : *True-friendship*

Miséricorde : *Compassion*

Bénivolence : *Kindliness*

Vérité : *Truth*

Conscience : *Conscience*

Unité : *Unity*

Ire : *Anger*
Cruauté : *Cruelty*
Perversité : *Frowardness*
Forcenerie : *Passion*
Félonnie : *Violence*
Esragerie : *Rage*
Desverie : *Fury*
Debonnairété : *Good-temper*
Douceur : *Sweetness*
(see Cap. VIII.)
Souffrance : *Tolerance*
Estableté : *Self-control*
Attrempance : *Moderation*
Patience : *Patience*
Discrétion : *Discretion*
Refrainte : *Self-restraint*
Correction : *Correction*
Mesure : *Order*
(Called "my sister" by Reason, here
and in Cap. XV.)

Paresse : *Sloth*
(see Cap. XVII.)
Fétardie : *Indolence*
Faintise : *Timidity*
Oiseuse : *Laziness*
Lâcheté : *Cowardice*
Négligence : *Negligence*
Niceté : *Silliness*
(see Cap. XVII.)
Non-chaloir : *Don't-care*
Cuer-failly : *Faint-heart*
Diligence : *Diligence*
Apperteté : *Readiness*
Bon-cuer : *Good-heart*
(see Cap. XXXV. *et seq.*)
Bonne-volenté : *Good-desire*
(see Cap. XXXV. *et seq.*)
Talent-de-bien-faire : *Mind-to-do-*
(see Cap. XXXV. *et seq.*) [*well*]

Cure : *Carefulness*
(see Cap. XXXIX. *et seq.*)
Soing : *Heed*
(see Cap. XXXIX. *et seq.*)

Avarice : *Avarice*
Convoitise : *Covetousness*
 (see Cap. XVII.)
Rapine : *Rapine*
Usure : *Usury*
Faulx-traictié : *False-troth*
Malice : *Malice*
Tricherie : *Trickery*
 (see Cap. XXVI.)
Murtre : *Murder*
 (see Cap. IX.)

Larrecin : *Theft*
 Roberie : *Robbery*
 Engignement : *Perfidy*
 Déception : *Deception*
 Fraude : *Deceit*
 Cavilation : *Craft*
 Charité : *Charity*
 Souffisance : *Sufficiency*
 (see Cap. XX.)
 Largesse : *Largesse*
 Aumosne : *Almsgiving*

Glouttonnie : *Gluttony*
Gourmandie : *Gormandise*
Friandise : *Appetite*
Lopinerie : *Greediness*
Yvresse : *Drunkenness*
Oultrage : *Excess*
Lécherie : *Indulgence*
Male-bouche : *Wicked-tongue*
(see Cap. IX.)
Mesdit : *Calumny*
Surdit : *Slander*
Maugréerie : *Profanity*

Hastiveté : *Rashness*

Pautonnerie : *Loose-living*

Abstinence : *Abstinence*

Sobriété : *Sobriety*

CAP. XIV.

Luxure : *Lasciviousness*

Fol-regard, Folement-regarder :
Foolish-look

Souvenir : *Remembrance*

Pensée : *Thought* (an arrow)
(see Cap. III.)

Fole-plaisance : *Foolish-joy* (an
arrow)

Désir : *Desire* (a cross-bow bolt)

Folle-Amour : *Foolish-love*

Chasteté : *Chastity* (a shield)

Fermeté : *Resolution* (a lance)

Regart : *Looking*

Fol-cuidier : *Fole-cogitation* :
(see Cap. XXX.) [*Foolish-thought*]

Ardent-désir : *Fierce-desire*

CAP. XV.

Atrempance : *Temperance*
(see Cap. X.)

CAP. XVII.

Richesse : *Riches*

Diligence : *Diligence* (a road)

Persévérance : *Perseverance* (paving
of the road)

Paresse or Accide : *Idleness* (a road)
(see Cap. XI.)

Fétardie : *Indolence* } (puddles
Ignorance : *Ignorance* } in the
Niceté : *Silliness* } road)
(see Cap. XI.)

Povreté : *Poverty*

CAP. XVIII.

Destinée : *Destiny, Fate*

CAP. XX.

Souffisance : *Enough* (a road)
(see Cap. XII.)

Convoitise : *Covetousness* (a road)
(see Cap. XII.)

Fortune : *Fortune*

CAP. XXI.

Amours : *Love*

CAP. XXV

Entendement : *Understanding*

CAP. XXVI.

Barat : *Fraud*

Tricherie : *Trickery*
(see Cap. XII.)

Hoquelerie : *Chicanery*

CAP. XXX.

Fol-cuidier : *Foolish-thought*
(see Cap. XIV.)

Droit : *Right*

CAP. XXXV.

Bon-cuer : *Good-heart*
(see Cap. XI.)

Bonne-volenté : *Good-desire*
(see Cap. XI.)

Talent-de-bien-faire : *Mind-to-do-*
(see Cap. XI.) [*well*]

CAP. XXXIX.

Labour (Chastel de) : *Labour* (a
castle)

Soing : *Heed*.
(see Cap. XI.)

Cure : *Carefulness*
(see Cap. XI.)

Travail : *Hard-work*

Peine : *Pains*

CAP. XLIV.

Repos : *Repose*



Si cōmence le liure du chastel de labonr
 de pouerte et de Richesse Et cōme besoing
 necessite souffrete ⁊ disete vien assaillir vn
 home nouuel marie soy qisat en son lit

On dit souuent A reprocher
 Vn prouerbe que jay moult de
 Car ventable est bien le say
 Que mettez vn fol a parfar

Il l'penseu De soy cheur
 Par moy mesmes le pme pleur



Car meulx estoient a tenaer
 Tailliez qua feste commencer
Eomme si ot nom besong
 N'lam fut de tristete et de song
 L'amsnee femme en verite
 N'omee fut neceffite
 La seconde femme souffrete
 Ot nom et la tierce Dyete
 T'one quatre estoient suere et fiere
 Et pourete si fut leur mere
 T'one les engendra mesheur
 En grant tristesse et pleur





Cōment pensee la hideuse vielle se mist
 sur le pie du nouuel marie. Et comme
 le hideux villain bossu dousy l'assault
 et tormente tresdurement n

Dont sen vint a moy errant
 Une grant vielle a poil ferrant
 Et m'estoit hideuse et flastue
 Et moult bien resamblait estre
 A rant felomme en taffee
 On l'appelloit par nom pensee
 Et ceste vielle me fit moult pie
 Et ne les autres car sur mon pie



Ainsi comme en ce point estoie
 Et que du tout au pis mettoie
 Sans viser comment tout aloit
 Et que de hien ne me chaloit
 Fors accomplir ma volente
 Car moult manoit entalente
 Desesperance de mal faire
 Et manoit par son put affaire
 Presque fait perdre corps et ame
 Il ore vint vne trespuoble Dame



VI. THE 'NEW-MARRIED' AND HIS WIFE IN BED. ENTER 'REASON'
 AND EXIT 'DESPAIR.'



Quant tu venus venir orgueil
 Regardant en tuerie & lueil
 Anciennes lui derision
 Desamur Despit presumption
 Suppedite fierte bolance
 Despraisiez oultrecondance
 Et tone les autres compaignons
 Qui cuers ont pures que gaighons
 Vers toy hameur desploice
 Si prens tantost & ton ayece



Dun autre assaut te fault garder
 Qui peulleux est a garder
 A trestous ceulx qui sont en vie
 Le chenevaine en est enue
 Qui moult est de mauuaise commune
 A nec lui est tounsiours hayne
 Faussete murtre et truhison
 Fausly samblant et detraction
 Ennemite et male bouche
 Qui n'ame que mauuaise reponche



En assault qui n'le fait accorder
 Te resquilt defendre saie fandre
 C'est dire le mauvais traitant
 En lui tousiours en emporant
 En toute mainiaistie habonde
 C'est le plus fel qui soit ou monde
 Et quant assaillir te vendra
 Forte deffense y comendra
 Et av al se fait desmesurer
 Que nul ne puet a lui durer



En autre assaut p'cellen
 Te fault estre moult arillen
 A fin que tu surprins ne soies
 En ton hostel nennuy, les voies
 C'est un assaut moult doubtable
 Moult dommagien et deuenable
 Car plusieurs en sont de ceu
 A me que adme aient de ceu
 De cest assaut est chief parese
 Et m'ane menacier fient et blese



Apres grant tor du quint assaut
 Car si subtillement assaut
 Et il qui en est droit capitaine
 Qu'il donne a ses subgiez grant pame
 Et uant il les tient en son seruce
 Et est capitaine est auarice
 Et u moult est de deuenant guise
 Et on enseigne porte conuoitise
 Et ayme usure et faulx traictiez
 Et e summent confusion piez a piez



Du vy: assault bien te garde
 Contre cestin fare boni garde
 Glotonnie est condinsent
 En de tone biens est destrinsent
 En enclin est a tone delice
 Et engendur tone mauuaise vice
 Nulz temps ne puet estre assomme
 Nais tonsionne samble estre alomme
 Et si est il plus quil ne puit
 Nulz temps sa volente ne puit



E sont anans qui buellent dire
 Que destinee a ce les tue
 Et les fait ensement a lex
 Folie fait ainsi parler
 Car ilz ne seient quilz se dient
 Et les malheureux si fient
 Qui dient souvent z meun
 Que ne meschief leur est auenir
 Et le buellent pour vray tenir
 Quant si leur deuot auenir

Ouilles de luche auoir doit
 Et tiercement doit auoir gromg
 De poucel sans aucun desarmat



C'omment raison expose au nouuel mesna-
 gier ou car quil seroit seruiteur les signifi-
 cations des trois condicions denat des test-
 assauoir des dafne ouilles de luche et gromg de

Ques trois condicions estingee p'cel.
 Et tu seze p'ce de tor nestuantes

Un homme hant Acompaignie De triche
 ne son clerc et De hoquetene son valet.



Quant Jeuz Apres assez pense
 Repense et contrepense



Bient cest de les moy assie
 Et commenca par mox hussie
 A parler atrempeement
 A nisi com par chastement
 Mais tu huy assez pense
 Or dextif quae tu empense
 V euly avue Raïson la fole
 Et m ceuly qui la avient a fole



Flatem soies premierement
 Car cest le droit comencement
 Par quoy on puet a bien veure
 Et a grant estat paruenir
 Et aduenir y veulx sans deffault
 De placebo sonez te fault
 Soies en ton lieue de ce puant
 On tu seue et pardenant



Une vint a moy entendement
 Pour moy donner enseignement
 A quel des deux je m'adonnasse
 Et cuer et corps habandonnasse
 Et ol dist il es tu rassote
 Et ne ce que raison ta note
 V'en ly laissiez pour estre tachee
 Et au ly mannaie et depeenee



Q Roy donques mison et la seve
 Car briuement tu seue seve
 Dune mauuaise seruitute
 Se tu nez en bavit te stude
 Plusieures parsee laz sont passez
 Plus sages que tu nez dusses
 A quel mal en est adueni
 Tu le voies souuent et meun



En moy servant premierement
 Pour vivre plus seurement
 Sans nul doubter fore dieu mo pe
 En ce ne croit il le compere
 A pres quant tu trespasseras
 De ceste vie tu seras
 A vec mon pere en sa gloire
 Et este sentence si est voue



E ce mot Respondi en leur
 Sur volentiere sane demeure
 Ja par moy ny aura debat
 Aostre conseil pas ne debat
 A me le vueil du tout accomplir
 Ore me commençay a vestir
 Et a chaussier appertement
 P me dz cest fait alons nous ent



XXXIX. THE 'CASTLE OF LABOUR.' (IN THE BORDER ARE
 DEPICTED THE FOUR SEASONS.)

travail le chasteelain du chasteel le vient
conforter / Et lui donne congie d'aler
a Repos le preudome pour soy auser n



Eore me priez fort a besougner
Ne men fiez pas essougner
Car la furent a mon coste
Bon cuer et bonne volente



Venent a leur de matinee Et lui de
 fendent quil ne soit nue Repos quo
 matinee gene a deuez et mie a puerie



Que Die se bien my accord
 Pme que ce vient a vofre accord



E tant du portier prime congie
 Et de sa femme 'et eslongue
 Du lieu le plus tost que se poe
 Et men alay droit a l'epoe
 Qui m'atendait a sa maison
 Car il en estoit bien saison

en frenaufie et come il sappareille pour
 conchier / et loze lui soumit de sonuy et
 de cue / et pour faue et acomplir leur vo
 lente mist lachandelle et le fuusil emps
 lui pō soy lenez denāt le pour a leur de.



ore respondi ma femme ainsi
 C'est ce que vous me dites cy
 Vous estes le cor hors du sens
 Car ne me congnois en nul sens

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J - Le Livre du Chastel de labour.

15041

Bruyant, J.

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